

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0290

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DATA EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST

REF: USNATO 5446

1. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE MC 224 CONFERENCE HAS REACHED AGREEMENT ON REVISED ESTIMATES FOR WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES WHICH, BY OUR CALCULATIONS, YIELDS A TOTAL OF 937,000 MEN, OR 12,000 MORE THAN THE 925,000 MAN TOTAL WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE ALREADY GIVEN TO THE EAST. IF CONFIRMED BY MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, THIS INCREASE WOULD BE APPROXIMATELY OF THE SAME ORDER OF MAGNITUDE AS THE INCREASE IN THE NATO TOTAL OF NATO GROUND FORCES FROM THE 777,000 FIGURE GIVEN TO THE EAST TO THE PRESENT ALLIED TOTAL OF 791,000. THEREFORE, IT IS NO

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LONGER THE CASE THAT ALLIED FAILURE TO GIVE THE EAST REVISED

NATO TOTALS ON BOTH NATO AND PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF A REVISED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES COULD LEAD THE EAST TO MISCALCULATE THE EFFECTS OF ALLIED SUGGESTIONS ON THIS POINT OR CREATE A BASIS FOR POSSIBLE LATER EASTERN CHARGES OF BAD FAITH AGAINST ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN THE CASE IF MC 224 HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE STILL HIGHER 952,000 TOTAL FOR WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES WHICH HAS BEEN USED FOR INTERNATIONAL CALCULATING PURPOSES BY THE ALLIES IN RECENT MONTHS.

2. FOR THESE REASONS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS WORTH THE POLITICAL COST OF A CONFRONTATION WITH THE FRG WHICH REFTEL INDICATES MIGHT WELL BE ENTAILED IF THE US SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR RELEASE OF SPECIFIC REVISED TOTALS TO THE EAST. WE SUGGEST THEREFORE THAT USNATO BE AUTHORIZED TO DROP FOR TIME BEING US SUGGESTION THAT ALLIES GIVE EAST REVISED TOTALS AND TO SEEK IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS MOVE ALLIED AGREEMENT TO A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. THIS COULD BE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD APPROVE A SUPPLEMENT TO THE SENTENCE IN PARA V6 OF COUNCIL GUIDANCE OF OCTOBER 2, WHICH STATES THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD TELL THE EAST THAT NATO NUMBERS ARE UNDER CONTINUING REVIEW AND SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENTS. THE SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE MIGHT BE ON THE FOLLOWING LINES: QUOTE: IF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS CONSIDER IT TACTICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS, THEY MAY ADD TO THE STATEMENT THAT ALLIED NUMBERS ARE NATURALLY UNDER CONTINUING REVIEW AND SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENTS THE POINT THAT THE MOST RECENT NATO FIGURES SHOW A SLIGHT INCREASE OF ABOUT THE SAME DIMENSIONS IN ALLIED TOTALS FOR BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES. UNQUOTE.

3. IF THIS PROPOSAL IS ADVANCED, BUT NOT ADOPTED, THE ALLIES IN VIENNA COULD PROCEED TO DEVELOP THE GROUND FORCE DEFINITION ISSUE WITH THE EAST WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF THIS ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE. HOWEVER, IF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE SUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING THE EAST TO GIVE THE WEST THEIR OWN EASTERN TOTALS FOR NATO AND PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, IT WILL HAVE BEEN USEFUL AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF NEW ALLIED TOTALS, WHICH WOULD

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HAVE TO BE REVEALED TO THE EAST UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAD MADE THE SUGGESTED STATEMENT IN ADVANCE.

4. AS REGARDS EVIDENCE IN REFTEL OF CONTINUED FRG RESISTANCE ON THE ISSUE OF PROPOSING A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY EXCHANGE OF DATA TO THE EAST, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS

BE AUTHORIZED TO EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY TOTALS ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND THEN IF NECESSARY ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER. A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY DATA EXCHANGE IS THE ONLY RATIONAL METHOD OF MAKING A PRELIMINARY IDENTIFICATION OF WHERE THE DISCREPANCIES ARE LOCATED. IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE AN EFFECTIVE EXCHANGE OF DATA UNLESS THIS AUTHORITY CAN BE GIVEN.

5. IT MAY REDUCE FRG CONCERNS ON THIS SUBJECT IF THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY EXCHANGE WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE PLACE WERE TO BE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED BY THE SPC. WORDING ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES MIGHT BE USEFUL: QUOTE: IF THE EAST RESPONDS POSITIVELY TO ALLIED REQUESTS THAT THE EAST PROVIDE TOTALS OF ITS OWN ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND MANPOWER OR AGREES TO EXCHANGE TOTALS ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER, AND THERE ARE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN ALLIED AND EASTERN TOTALS, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE AUTHORIZED TO SUGGEST TO THE EAST A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY EXCHANGE OF GROUND FORCE TOTALS AND THEN, IF NECESSARY, OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS, AS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP TOWARDS LOCATING THE SOURCE OF THESE DISCREPANCIES. UNQUOTE.

6. IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS WHEN DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE WITH FRG REPRESENTATIVES:

A. EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF ALLIED TOTALS AS AUTHORITY OR AN EXCHANGE OF DATA LEADING TO AGREEMENT ON TOTAL FIGURES ARE THE ONLY WAYS TO FIND AN AGREED BASE FOR REDUCTIONS.

B. EASTERN AGREEMENT TO TOTALS WHICH DEMONSTRATE THE
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SIZEABLE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN ALLIED AND PACT GROUND FORCE TOTALS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT CONFIRMATION OF THE VALIDITY OF THE ALLIED APPROACH THAT A GROUND FORCE DISPARITY EXISTS TO THE DEGREE CLAIMED BY THE ALLIES AND THAT A REDUCTION AGREEMENT SHOULD TAKE THIS FACT APPROPRIATELY INTO ACCOUNT.

C. SINCE THE ALLIES HAVE NOT PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED THE EAST WITH COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY FIGURES, AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS WILL NOT REPEAT NOT REVEAL THE SOURCE OF THE MODEST INCREASE IN THE TOTAL OF NATO GROUND FORCES OVER THE 777,000 FIGURE ALREADY PROVIDED THE EAST, AND THERE IS NO REASON WHY ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD HAVE TO RESPOND TO POSSIBLE EASTERN ENQUIRIES ON THIS POINT. RESOR

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